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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 20 April 1993, at 11.30 a.m.

President:	Mr. MARKER	(Pakistan)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. GREY
	Venezuela	Mr. BIVERO

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The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 3201st meeting, I invite the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bulgaria, Canada, the Comoros, Croatia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Germany, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lithuania, Malaysia, Malta, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Slovenia, Sweden, Turkey, Ukraine and the United Arab Emirates to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan), Mr. Shkurti (Albania), Mr. Hadid (Algeria), Mr. Cardenas (Argentina), Mr. Hohenfellner (Austria), Mr. Abdul Ghaffar (Bahrain), Mr. Pashovski (Bulgaria), Mrs. Fréchette (Canada), Mr. Moumin (Comoros), Mr. Drobnjak (Croatia), Mr. Haakonsen (Denmark), Mr. Ayala Lasso (Ecuador), Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany), Mr. Soegarda (Indonesia), Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Collins (Ireland), Mr. Scialoja (Italy), Mr. Abu Odeh (Jordan), Mr. Simutis (Lithuania), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Camilleri (Malta), Mr. Al-Ni'mah (Qatar), Mr. Voicu (Romania), Mr. Allagany (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Cissé (Senegal), Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Mr. Türk (Slovenia), Mr. Osvald (Sweden), Mr. Burcuoglu (Turkey), Mr. Batiouk (Ukraine) and Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Czech Republic in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gial·ska (Czech Republic) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/25632, which contains the text of a letter dated 19 April 1993 from the Permanent Representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. PASHOVSKI (Bulgaria): First allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April and to express our appreciation of your capable guidance of the Council's work.

(Mr. Pashovski, Bulgaria)

The Security Council is meeting to consider the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina - a situation which represents one of the gravest challenges to the world community today. A full-scale war is still raging in that country taking tens of thousands of human lives, driving millions of people away from their homes and causing tremendous destruction and human tragedy. It is undoubtedly the ugliest conflict that Europe has witnessed since the Second World War with gross and massive violations of human rights, disregard for the most sacred human values and the abhorrent "ethnic cleansing" targeted at innocent civilians. The latest, and some of the most shocking examples of these atrocious practices, are the events in Eastern Bosnia and, in particular, the attacks on Srebrenica.

Other alarming aspect of the conflict are the numerous cases of totally unacceptable defiance of the humanitarian efforts of the United Nations and various international agencies and the obstruction of the efforts of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in carrying out its mandate. I would like to take this opportunity to express my Government's highest appreciation for the brave and commendable performance of UNPROFOR's military and civilian personnel under extremely difficult conditions.

The world community cannot and should not tolerate any more these clear and continuous violations of the United Nations Charter - of the fundamental principles of international law. The entire international legal system established during the post-war period is being jeopardized in all its dimensions - political, security, humanitarian and economic. If not resolved without delay, the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina may spread to other parts of former Yugoslavia and beyond, thus endangering regional peace and security in the Balkans, as well as stability in Europe. The Security Council should, as a matter of priority, consider the need for stepping-up effective preventive

(Mr. Pashovski, Bulgaria)

actions to contain a possible spillover to Macedonia and Kosovo. New waves of refugees will emerge and new atrocities will be committed. We are gravely concerned by this possibility.

Since the beginning of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria has been advocating the search for a peaceful solution based on internationally recognized principles and norms. We fully support all relevant Security Council resolutions and remain committed to their implementation. The focus of the international community now should be on bringing the Bosnian Serb side to accept the Vance-Owen plan in its entirety as the only feasible option for ending the bloodshed and providing a lasting solution to the conflict. There is an immediate need for stepping up international pressure by undertaking appropriate actions to ensure full implementation of all Security Council decisions.

Bulgaria stands firmly behind the principles of international law, human rights and democracy. It should be stressed that in supporting the resolve to put an end to the conflict, we are confronting not the Serbian people but, rather, those who have chosen "ethnic cleansing" and other inhuman practices to achieve their selfish political goals. The Serbian people should see through this phenomenon and realize that it is unacceptable to and resolutely rejected by the international community.

Decisive action is necessary without delay. We have repeatedly stated our support for efforts in this regard. Given the geo-political and historical realities of the Balkans, however, we reiterate our principled position that Bulgaria will not intervene in the conflict with any form of armed force and that maintenance of security and stability in the region makes it imperative that all other Balkan States assume and pursue the same commitment.

(Mr. Pashovski, Bulgaria)

Bulgaria stands firmly behind the measures taken by the Security Council aimed at promoting a speedy peaceful solution through political and economic means. We, therefore, support the adoption of resolution 820 (1993) and state our readiness strictly to implemement its provisions. At the same time, we appeal to those who made the adoption of such harsh measures unavoidable to reconsider their policies and show a sense of responsibility for the future of their own people.

Bulgaria has been strict in fulfilling its responsibility for implementing the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. What is more, we have demonstrated and proved in practice our goodwill for cooperation in the efforts to ensure their effectiveness. The Bulgarian Government acts in close coordination and in collective efforts with the nations of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), the European Community and the Western European Union. In meeting our share of the responsibility for ensuring implementation, we are motivated by the understanding that sanctions are one of the means of achieving a settlement.

At the same time it should be underscored that Bulgaria, among the countries bordering Serbia and Montenegro, is the one most affected by the implementation of economic sanctions. The provisions of resolution 820 (1993), when put into effect, will almost totally cut Bulgaria's transportation links with the rest of Europe. The application of the measures will exact a very high price for us and we will be put in an extremely difficult situation if we are left to meet this price alone. We welcome the establishment of a body to address the special economic problems arising from the implementation of the sanctions and expect that it will devise a concrete mechanism for assistance to the States most affected in overcoming their

(Mr. Pashovski, Bulgaria)

hardships. This mechanism should then be backed by the authority of the Security Council through an appropriate decision.

Along with the possibility of rendering assistance and compensation for losses, we are of the opinion that options such as foreign investments and credits especially designated for infrastructure projects directly related to the effect of relevant Security Council resolutions should also be considered. Among such projects, the construction of a bridge on the Danube river at Vidin/Calafat, a railroad between Sofia and Skopje and other motor and railways projects could be identified. We believe that a meaningful involvement of international financial institutions as well as other multilateral and bilateral cooperation efforts are urgently required in this respect.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Bulgaria for the kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SAMHAN (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me pleasure on behalf of my delegation and on behalf of the States of the Gulf Cooperation Council to express to you, Sir, and to your friendly country, Pakistan, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are fully confident that your wide expertise in many international issues and, in particular, those relating to international peace and security, will contribute to the achievement of positive results that will benefit all of mankind.

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

It gives me pleasure also to convey to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador O'Brien, Permanent Representative of New Zealand, our sincere thanks for the wisdom and efficiency with which he presided over the work of the Council last month.

More than a year has passed since Serb irregular forces, morally, politically and militarily supported by Serbia and Montenegro, commenced their wanton aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and principles of international humanitarian law and international legitimacy. The Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted numerous resolutions in the hope that these, most recently Security Council resolution 820 (1993), would stop the aggression and settle the problem peacefully. But Serb forces have persisted in their aggression and their policy of "ethnic cleansing" and genocide in total disregard of those resolutions. The resolutions included no deterrent measures, and this has led the Serb forces to continue their aggression and their violations of the most basic principles of human rights.

In view of the present situation and the continued flagrant violation by Serb forces of international legitimacy as embodied in Security Council resolutions, it is now necessary that the Council adopt a deterrent approach towards the aggressor and lift the arms embargo against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, enabling it to exercise its sovereign right of self-defence. The Council should heed international calls to find a peaceful solution to the problem and to put an end to the wanton aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

At their meeting held on 4 and 5 April 1993 at Riyadh, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Foreign Ministers of the States members of the Gulf Cooperation Council reiterated the position of the Governments of the Gulf Cooperation Council on the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They said that

"The Council of Ministers strongly condemns Serb aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and calls on the Security Council to take all necessary measures, including the lifting of the arms embargo against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina enabling that State to exercise its right to self-defence, and to make use of military force in accordance with Chapter VII, Article 42, of the Charter in order to restore international peace and security and compel the aggressor forces to comply with resolutions of international legitimacy. The Council should not permit the aggressor to be rewarded by allowing it to change the demographic composition or achieve any territorial gains. It should compel Serb forces to withdraw and respect the sovereignty and independence of the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina".

Under the Charter the Security Council bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; the permanent members bear a special responsibility in that regard. We join many other States in believing that the Security Council has yet to take the measures necessary to confront Serb aggression, but we think there is still time to do what is needed.

(Mr. Samhan, United
Arab Emirates)

To solve the crisis, we are calling for resolutions that conform to the Charter, the principles of international law, total respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes. They would reject the acquisition of the territory of others by force and would not permit the aggressor to gain by its aggression.

I wish finally to reiterate our firm belief in the role of the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, in the maintenance of international peace and security. This is based on our deep conviction that disputes must be settled by peaceful means and in accordance with the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter and the other basic principles governing international relations. On that basis, we believe that the responsibility for maintaining peace, stability, security and peaceful coexistence among peoples is a collective responsibility, and that the Security Council has a primary role to play in that regard, and in particular with respect to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Arab Emirates for the kind words he addressed to my predecessor and to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Comoros. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros): The delegation of the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros joins delegations that have spoken before it in extending its warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

presidency of the Council for the month of April. We are confident that the Council, under your able guidance, will successfully carry out its responsibilities.

My delegation would also like to thank Ambassador O'Brien, Permanent Representative of New Zealand, for his remarkable stewardship of the Council during the month of March.

My country's position on the aggression by Serbia and Montenegro against the Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is well known to Council members and to the general membership of the United Nations. Consequently we do not intend to bore the Council with repetitions. But I must state that my delegation speaks today with a very heavy heart, disappointed in ourselves for our inability to help in any way to stop the brutal massacre of women, children and innocent civilians of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Serbs' barbarity and callous disregard for human life and the thought that this is taking place in so-called civilized Europe make us quiver with disdain and contempt for those who have always tried to give us lessons on civilized behaviour. Let us hope that after this they will acknowledge that civilization and the values of human rights originated with us, and that they have no lessons whatsoever to teach us.

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

As for this Organization, and particularly for this important organ entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, can its members, particularly its permanent members, in all honesty and in clear conscience, look straight into the eyes of the 50,000 raped women of Bosnia and Herzegovina and into the eyes of the children and parents and say they have done all they could do to stop the savagery of the Serbs? And what about the victims of Srebrenica, whose plight seems at last to have touched a nerve in the conscience of the European capitals, as evidenced by a number of statements in the Council yesterday and the adoption of resolution 820 (1993) on 17 April. Can the Council explain why it took that much loss of life for it to act?

Although the delegation of the Comoros welcomes resolution 820 (1993) on the tightening of the economic sanctions against the aggressors, Serbia and Montenegro, we are concerned that these sanctions, because of the insistence of a permanent member, will not have the immediate effect of protecting the Bosnian Muslims from continuing heavy Serbian bombardment of populated civilian centres, particularly Sarajevo and Bihac, and will still leave Bosnian Muslims vulnerable to Serbian attacks and interruptions of United Nations relief supplies to other areas.

In a powerful, moving opinion published recently, a prominent European commentator stated:

"The unpunished aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina has put the whole moral foundation of the United Nations into jeopardy."

That is a very strong criticism of the Council and the United Nations. The time has come for the Council to redeem itself and the United Nations and to restore the confidence which the small and the weak have placed in this body.

The Council - your Council, Mr. President - has the moral obligation,

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

after the recent despicable actions of "ethnic cleansing" by the Serbs in Srebrenica and their continued contempt for the international community, to take, at minimum, the following measures by adopting, with immediate effect, the Non-Aligned draft resolution, which should contain the following: measures to place under effective United Nations control all the heavy weaponry of all sides; authorization for Members, individually or collectively, to use force against those who refuse to lay down their arms; and immediate authorization for the lifting of the arms embargo imposed against the victims of aggression, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Council cannot do less than that. How could it, when even the most adamant opponent of the use of force, the Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Lord Owen, has come to the same conclusion we reached long ago - that only the use of force can bring the Serbs to the negotiating table?

As for the five permanent members of the Security Council, need we remind you that the honour and privilege bestowed upon you by the founding fathers of this Organization go hand in hand with responsiblity and sacrifice on your part?

As for the Permanent Representatives of France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, your share of the responsibility cannot be over-emphasized, and your countries' hesitation in taking courageous but difficult political decisions is difficult to comprehend. However, the news we hear from your respective capitals gives us reason to hope that it has at last dawned on those who make decisions that the time for serious action has come. We welcome the change of attitude. As the English would say, "Better late than never." Act now, before history judges you severely.

As for the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation, we would

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

kindly remind you that your country, as one of the permanent members of the Security Council, has an obligation to fulfil its international responsibility, which in this case is the preservation of peace and security in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a matter of top priority. The cold war is over - gone - and with it has gone the time for protecting clients' interests, particularly those of clients who are brutal aggressors and who have utter disregard for civilized international norms. The English have a saying that people are judged by the company they keep. I am sure the people of Russia do not wish to be identified with people who practice mass rape of women and small children for political goals, as the Serbs do. Your country should avoid them as one would avoid a leper. Do not negate your international responsibility for people who, I am sure, are not even going to be grateful to you for doing so. Do not become a defender of the unjust, lest you become unjust yourselves. The international community is watching, and history will judge your country's actions.

As for the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China, we appreciate your country's consistent, principled position on the authorization of the use of force by individual Members; but we should like your country, because of the brutality and inhuman methods used by the Serbs in their practice of "ethnic cleansing", which is genocidal, to think again and consider what is happening to Bosnia and Herzegovina as an extreme case which warrants your voting in favour of the authorization of the use of force and the lifting of the arms embargo against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As for the only super-Power, the United States of America, we have this to say to Madame Ambassador, who, we realize, is not here: religious intolerance, persecution and bigotry are considered by its people - and rightly so - to be immoral, because American society is formed of people who

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

themselves had once fled from such persecution. Many a time the American people has sacrificed its loved ones in the defence of justice and just causes and against oppression.

It has become clear, since the First World War, that without American leadership nothing can be achieved. During the Second World War the leadership of the United States helped Europe to get rid of nazism. It was their leadership that defeated communism, and recently it was their leadership role that helped to liberate Kuwait and protect the Kurds and the Shi'ites from Saddam Hussein.

A few months ago the people of Somalia were dying daily of hunger by the hundreds, while food was available but could not be delivered to those in need. The international community watched helplessly while the warlords in Somalia terrorized their own people. Few countries were willing to send in forces to help secure food for the suffering people of Somalia, but once the United States took the courageous, commendable political decision to do something about the situation, everything changed for the better. A number of countries that were unwilling to provide forces have now joined in the peace-keeping efforts. Once again American leadership has acted as an important catalyst.

America needs to stand firm on its principles. Your country, Madame Ambassador, must take the lead by using all means necessary to stop Serbian aggression against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Decisive action is needed to prevent further crimes of genocide by the Serbs against the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Remember: without Bosnian Muslims there is no Bosnia and Herzegovina. We should add that the preservation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a vital prerequisite for stabilty and peace in the Balkans and, in the final analysis, in the larger area of Europe as a whole.

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

During the presidential campaign in the United States, peace-loving peoples all over the world, and in particular we of the Islamic Ummah, were very encouraged by President Clinton's firm stand on the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina; also, the recent call by the leaders of both parties in the United States Senate for the selective use of force has given us cause to believe that the Administration will once again take up its leadership role and is ready to fulfil its international responsibility. The United States did so to save Kuwait, and it can do it to save Bosnia and Herzegovina. By doing so it will eliminate the perception of double standards and lend credibility to the concept of the new world order, which is, after all, an American concept.

The American people cannot afford to be indifferent to nor tolerate the mass rape of women, the maiming of small children and the crime of "ethnic cleansing". To do so would be un-American. Now that the Europeans have had a welcome change of heart, we of the international community are eagerly waiting for the United States to act with determination.

Concerning the caucus of non-aligned members of the Security Council, we have nothing but praise and gratitude for them. We are proud of them for their steadfastness. We support their draft resolution and call upon the Council to adopt it, with the amendments we have suggested.

We thank the other non-permanent members of the Security Council for their consistent support for the causes of the weak.

We cannot conclude our statement without touching upon the peace process undertaken on behalf of the international community by the two Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Lord Owen and Secretary Vance; I must say that we in the Comoros,

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

while not liking the peace plan very much and recognizing its significant shortcomings, like many others accept the view the Secretary-General expressed in his report that:

> "The Co-Chairmen's peace package provides the only mechanism available for the re-establishment of peace, with justice and respect for human rights, in Bosnia and Herzegovina". (S/25479, para. 30)

We applaud the two parties that have signed it despite its manifest disadvantages for their peoples.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Comoros for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ELARABY (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to express our deep gratitude for the efforts that you have been making since you became President of the Council. Your wisdom and diplomatic skill will bear fruit and make it possible for the Council to shoulder its responsibilities and cope with international crises this month. I should also like to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Terence O'Brien, Permanent Representative of New Zealand, for the efforts he made as President of the Council last month.

The tragic developments unfolding in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina have set the Security Council a very particular problem that could create a very serious historical precedent with consequences above and beyond the present conflict. An independent and sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations, has been subjected to military aggression and is even being threatened with gradual disappearance in the full view of the world while the

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

Security Council, the body principally responsible for maintaining international peace and security, finds itself powerless to stop this historical tragedy.

It is the credibility of the entire United Nations that is at stake today; history will pass a heavy judgement on us all, most particularly on the great Powers that are permanent members of the Security Council and that do have the military means to put an end to the massacres that are being perpetrated each day, if the Council does not discharge its responsibilities.

The Egyptian delegation is alarmed by the situation prevailing in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Over the past 12 months there have been thousands of innocent victims, and my delegation wishes, first and foremost, to stop the bloodshed and put an end to the atrocious crimes being perpetrated against unarmed civilians who lack the means to defend themselves. Given this situation, we request the Security Council to deal with this tragedy with determination and without ambiguity and adopt, immediately, a binding cease-fire resolution for the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We also ask that the aggressor respect the Council's resolution or face the implementation of all the steps provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The Security Council has already adopted many resolutions on the worsening situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, as we are all aware, none of these resolutions has been implemented and none of them has proved sufficient: the Serbian aggression has continued despite them. The time has now come for the Council to send a strong, determined message to Serbia and Montenegro and to the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina stating that the international community has lost patience with them because of their challenge to these international resolutions and because they are continuing their

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savage aggression against the territory and the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The international community cannot tolerate more acts of aggression that would enable the Serbs to present us with a new fait accompli in order to achieve their goal of regional expansionism.

The only way to deal with this problem is for the Security Council to adopt a strong, clear resolution that would include taking the measures provided for by the Charter so that the aggressor is confronted, the aggression is eliminated and reparations are awarded to the victim, which is a State Member of this international Organization. That is the price that must be paid for international law to be applied equitably and without discrimination throughout the world.

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

The delegation of Egypt is aware of the complexity of this problem, but we believe it will be possible to achieve a political settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly since President Izetbegovic has answered the international community's appeal and has signed the peace plan proposed by the co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

The situation is now clear to the international community. Despite the fact that the peace plan splits up Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bosnian Muslim party has respected all its international obligations with a view to the implementation of the plan. That is why the Security Council should not wait any longer and go on hoping that the Serbian party will sign the peace plan, which would allow it to gain time, particularly since the situation on the ground brooks no further delay.

Hence, the Security Council should immediately adopt a binding resolution, in keeping with its powers, that would oblige all the parties to respect the peace plan and to take all the measures necessary to guarantee its implementation.

The events in Bosnia and Herzegovina are placing the international order in a contradictory position. At the very time when the world is calling for respect for human rights and placing them at the top of international priorities, at the very time when we are getting ready, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, to adopt a new declaration of human rights, we are witnessing in Bosnia and Herzegovina the most odious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Many reports from international bodies contain details concerning massacres of Muslims, details concerning persons who have been burned alive, details concerning attacks on old people and children, of mass rapes of Muslim women. There have been other practices

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

that have not yet been revealed and that are even worse than what the Nazis called the "final solution".

The Egyptian delegation wonders why we should wait any longer. Are there double standards? The world does not need additional proof that the Serbs are using every possible means to exterminate the Muslims and to practise "ethnic cleansing" in that region - which will be a black page in the history of the twentieth century, now nearing its end, despite all that has been achieved.

Recently the International Court of Justice issued an opinion against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). In that opinion it asked Serbia and Montenegro to take immediate measures to put an end to the genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Security Council took note of that opinion by the International Court of Justice, and the international community expects the Council to shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter for the maintenance of international law. The Council must safeguard the international Organization's prestige and credibility and demonstrate to the world that respect for human rights is really the very first international priority at present.

In the light of all I have said, the Security Council must immediately review all its resolutions that have not yet been implemented. Instead of having recourse to such long-term measures as sanctions - which on many occasions have proved to be futile in ensuring the achievement of the desired goals - the Council should take such other measures as the establishment of an immediate cease-fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina, the placing of heavy weapons under international control, the withdrawal of Serbian forces from the territories occupied by force, and aerial attacks against certain Serbian targets that

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serve as a support base for the Serbians. The Council should also demand that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia stop its support for the Bosnian Serbs so that their military arsenal will be prevented from pursuing the aggression. Furthermore, the United Nations should deploy international observers on the borders between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In accordance with resolution 787 (1992), effective measures should be taken immediately to put an end to the practice of "ethnic cleansing". First, total international control should be imposed in order to ensure that an end is put to the expulsions of Muslim inhabitants resulting from Serbian intimidation, torture, rape and other practices. Secondly, binding international measures should be taken to guarantee the return of those who have been expelled under the pretext of "ethnic cleansing" and to oblige the Serbian authorities to give compensation. Thirdly, those who are responsible for these practices should be brought to justice before an international tribunal - namely, the war crimes tribunal established by the United Nations; we should not accept the argument that these guilty persons were merely carrying out orders. Fourthly, effective machinery should be established to ensure the effective implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

The delegation of Egypt is in favour of the application of Chapter VII of the Charter to deal with the aggressor and force it to respect international law.

Like other Members of the United Nations, Egypt is furnishing military units to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But there is no justification for using the safety of that Force as a pretext for failing to apply the collective security measures provided for in the Charter.

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

The delegation of Egypt is presenting its views to the Security Council as a member of the Contact Group established by the Organization of the Islamic Conference to follow up the present situation and hopes that the Council will take them into consideration and will take effective measures immediately to put an end to the tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina decisively, comprehensively and urgently. Half-measures are no longer acceptable.

The Security Council must shoulder its responsibilities. If it does not do that, it must admit that it is impotent and allow the General Assembly to hold an emergency session to consider the worsening situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and take the initiative of calling on the international community to provide all the necessary assistance to enable Bosnia and Herzegovina, a State Member of the United Nations, to exercise fully its right to self-defence in accordance with Article 21 of the Charter of the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Egypt for the kind words he addressed to my predecessor and to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Ukraine. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BAZIOUK (Ukraine): Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of April and to express the conviction of the delegation of Ukraine that your able leadership will bring the present deliberations to a successful conclusion. I should also like to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador O'Brien, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of the Security Council during the previous month.

Recent tragic events in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in the eastern part of the country, and the continuing escalation of fighting between all parties to the conflict, resulting in unspeakable bloodshed and the suffering of the civilian population, have once again highlighted an urgent need for a speedy settlement of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are facing a real threat of the geographical boundaries of the conflict widening beyond Bosnia and Herzegovina and the possibility of the involvement of other countries or even groups of countries in it. The senseless continuation of the fighting threatens European stability and undermines an historic opportunity to build up a sound post-war security structure in the world.

The Security Council has steadily toughened international response to the defiant stand of those parties to the conflict which have ignored friendly advice and timely warnings. Resolution after resolution has brought new sanctions, and the adoption of Security Council resolution 820 (1993) should be viewed as a logical consequence of this process. Everyone must realize that the international community will continue to mount pressure on those responsible for the continuation of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina until the ultimate goals of peace and the restoration of respect for human and national rights in that region are achieved.

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In the view of Ukraine, peace in that region can be achieved on the basis of the principles of respect for the political independence and sovereignty of the internationally recognized State of Bosnia and Herzegovina; non-interference in its internal affairs; respect by all neighbouring States of its territorial integrity; the strict observance by all parties to the conflict of human rights and the rights of national minorities; the negotiated settlement of disputes among ethnic groups by peaceful political means; and the non-recognition of all territorial changes as a result of the use of force.

All the principles I have mentioned are reflected in the comprehensive peace plan presented by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Ukraine welcomes the fact that this plan has now been accepted in full by two of the Bosnian parties. Simultaneously, we express our grave concern at the refusal of the Bosnian Serb party so far to accept the peace plan in full, including the provisional provincial map. In our opinion, an additional effort on the part of the international community should be made in order to renew the negotiation process among all Bosnian parties under the auspices of the United Nations, aimed at bringing about a solution acceptable to all.

Ukraine is deeply concerned by the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in Srebrenica, and alarmed at the fate of thousands of civilians, including women and children, who are trapped in the town without food, medical assistance or essential services. It is unacceptable that parties to the conflict link humanitarian issues to their broader political goals and prevent the humanitarian convoys from reaching the needy population. We support the demand formulated in Security

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Council resolution 819 (1993) for the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and agree that any impediment to the delivery of humanitarian assistance constitutes a serious violation of international humanitarian law.

The delegation of Ukraine would also like to stress the indispensable role of the United Nations peace-keeping force in Bosnia and Herzegovina in delivering humanitarian aid to the civilian population. We commend the courage and dedication of the Blue Helmets in carrying out this noble mission, and among them the Ukrainian battalion in Sarajevo, which has suffered heavy losses, including four servicemen killed, the last on 16 April. It is yet another reminder that the international community should elaborate without delay effective, legally binding measures to ensure the safety of the peace-keeping and other personnel and bring those responsible for deliberate attacks against peace-keepers to justice.

In the view of the Ukrainian delegation, enforcement measures taken so far by the Security Council against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) are designed to bring about a speedy solution to the crisis in that region. As was noted in a letter from the President of Ukraine, Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, to the Secretary-General on 22 March 1993:

> "Ukraine considers the United Nations sanctions to be an integral part of the international efforts towards the peaceful settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and confirms its resolve strictly to observe them."

At the same time, it is incumbent upon the Security Council to adopt measures to mitigate the negative consequences of the sanctions for those States which not only comply with them but are also entrusted with the task of

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the ensuring the enforcement of the sanctions regime imposed by the Security Council. To illustrate the magnitude of the problem for Ukraine, I should like to cite just one example. As a result of the sanctions and the disruption of shipping on the Danube river, one of the major shipping companies of Ukraine, the Danube Shipping company, with assets of $2 billion, is on the verge of economic collapse. This means that 25,000 workers may lose their jobs, leaving more than 100,000 dependents without any means of subsistence.

We believe that the time has come, especially after the adoption of resolution 820 (1993), to find practical ways of implementing Article 50 of the United Nations Charter. It is our conviction that such a decision would make sanctions an effective instrument available to the Security Council enjoying the support of the international community as a whole. In this connection, the delegation of Ukraine welcomes the establishment of the Working Group within the Committee on sanctions against Yugoslavia to deal with these issues.

It is also important that the new guidelines to be elaborated by the Committee on sanctions include procedures that would not be unfairly harmful to third countries. We have to remember that Security Council sanctions are directed against a specific State or States, and other countries of the region must not be the eventual or unintentional targets of enforcement measures. This requires very close cooperation between the Committee and regional arrangements, including sanctions assistance missions.

In conclusion, the delegation of Ukraine would like to emphasize that all parties concerned must realize that no solution to the Bosnian problem can be reached on the battlefield. The only viable peace can be achieved at the

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negotiating table. With this in mind, the international community should continue to use all relevant United Nations mechanisms provided in the Charter in order to put an end to the current state of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Ukraine for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and me.

In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend to adjourn the meeting now. With the concurrence of the members of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda, will take place this afternoon, Tuesday, 20 April 1993, at 3:00 p.m. sharp.

The meeting rose at 1:00 p.m.